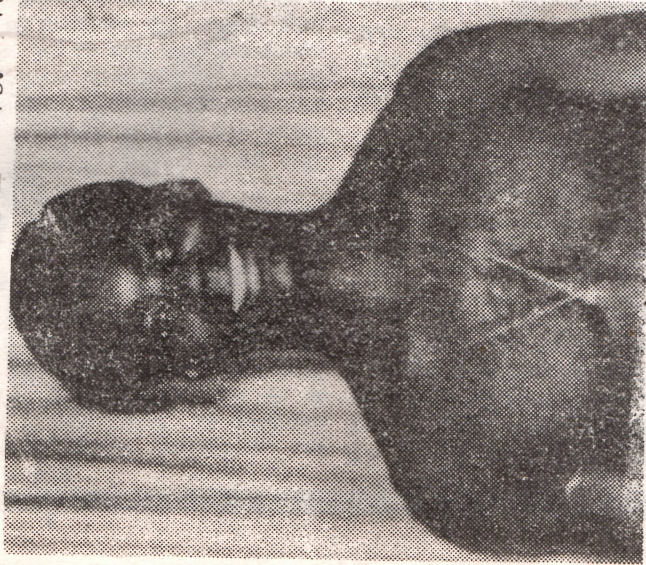


ANOTHER AVOIDABLE DEATH

THE STATE Vs. WINSTON ROSE



- Winston's death raises many issues:
 - One black person was exposed to a group of white police, most or all of whom we can assume to be racially prejudiced to the extent of supporting the National Front. (This assumption is supported by an accumulation of facts about police attitudes in London and certainly in East London).
 - A man with fairly recent bad experience of the police was subjected to an extremely persecutory visit by large numbers of police – the worst treatment for someone who might have had 'paranoid' tendencies anyway.
 - How much sense is there in blankly labelling as 'paranoid' someone with objective cause to feel persecuted as a black person in a widely racist society? This is not to deny that Winston might have had clinical paranoid traits; but the whole picture must have been more complicated than simplistic psychiatric diagnoses can suggest.
 - Psychotropic drugs, though a case can be made for them at times, are not enough in themselves; if the patient stops taking them, the health and social services do not usually provide adequate help which is both adequate AND ACCEPTABLE to those it might benefit.
 - Neither the two doctors nor the two social workers knew Winston well enough to know how to treat him in a non-threatening way. (I believe only one of the four – the GP – knew him at all.) Presumably through fear of the unknown, they resorted to calling in authorities whose main weapons are numbers and physical force. What was needed was the power of a relationship with Winston by someone with both the natural talent and the experience to face him in a calm and unafraid way. All the evidence is that people who seem 'beside themselves' still maintain a bit of themselves which can respond reasonably to the right approach.

About a hundred and fifty people of all ages packed into a public hall in Walthamstow, East London, on 10th August 1981, outraged by the killing of Winston Rose on July 13th.

Winston came from the West Indies. He was 27, married with two small children; an electrician, active in his union. In 1979 he had a row at work and ended up being taken by the police to Claybury psychiatric hospital where he stayed for a short time and was diagnosed schizophrenic. On the journey to the hospital, the police applied handcuffs so tightly that they injured his wrists.

After his return home, a nurse used to visit to give him psychotropic drugs. These made him so sleepy that he eventually decided to stop taking them. In May 1981 he was made redundant at work; unemployed, he became distressed. One day in July he grabbed his wife's arm in an aggressive way. She got in touch with the local doctor to see if Winston could be persuaded to take his drugs again.

A succession of two doctors, two social workers and eleven police descended on Winston's house on July 13th, without his prior knowledge or agreement. By the then he was sitting in his living room reading his bible. At the sight of the police he ran into his back yard, over the fences and hid in a garden shed. The details of the ensuing fight were revealed at the inquest in October. Winston was carried unconscious into a police van where he died by choking on his vomit on the way to hospital.

The jury at the inquest decided by an eight to two majority that the police were guilty of 'unlawful killing'. The Winston Rose Action Campaign is now waiting for the Director of Public Prosecutions to take action against the police (November 1981) Meantime the campaign has joined forces with other committees who have publicised the deaths of Blair Peach, Richard Campbell and Matthew O'Hara; the combined campaign calls itself Inquest.

Who killed

Julie Potter?

WE ARE AGAINST every form of institution the State gives itself to control individuals. School, work-place, army, asylum and prison are all instruments used to enslave people in various types of cages and serve to "educate" them to passively accepting reality as something that cannot be changed.

The role of prison is the most openly punitive one, and here we want to denounce the living conditions of the convicted prisoners in Holloway.

Food of dubious quality, total lack of fruit and vitamins; compulsory work for 92 pence per week assembling "Britains" toys, on sale in shops (confirming existence of an agreement between prison and factory – who puts this money in their pockets?); no respect of the miserable internal rules that lay down daily "half an hour" of fresh air and "association" which means open cells and freedom of movement within the wing (in reality cells are closed for most of the day and often even meals are eaten in the cells); censorship and limitation of mail; no possibility of receiving food, drinks or cigarettes from outside, but only cut flowers, one change of clothing and a few books (at the discretion of the warden on duty). Prisoners must eat repulsive prison food or starve, and work all week for one packet of cigarettes. Threats of reports and loss of remission are the final arm in securing an almost total submission on the part of the prisoners, to the extent of not even demanding their already minimal rights.

This infernal mechanism creates an atmosphere of brutalisation, submission, blackmail, order obtained through the violence of a series of prohibitions and the violation of individuality. Days are spent monotonously doing boring work or locked up in overcrowded cells.

The new prison is presented as a sign of improvement, but the rigid discipline reduces life to survival. The prison authorities have free run to do what they like hidden from the public eye.

On October 4 a woman set fire to herself, and on October 7 another two women followed this road. These attempted suicides are a result of exasperation in this situation of extreme isolation from outside. In the Times of October 20 we read: "Julie Potter, 21, a Holloway prisoner who sustained severe burns when her nightdress caught fire, died in a hospital yesterday". We believe that someone is trying to present this fact as an accident. Why does nobody know about this episode? And what about the other women?

WHO KILLED JULIE POTTER?

From: **BREAD LOVE & STRUGGLE** – A few Brixton Anarchists



About 700 Haitian people awaiting deportation from the United States have begun a hunger strike in a detention camp near Miami, in an attempt to win their freedom.

HOW CRIMINAL STATISM TREATS HAITI

Haiti has endured years of criminal statism. The whole Haitian apparatus of government is a conspiracy against the welfare of the people, seen at its starkest. In this it differs only in degree from any other government apparatus, but the degree is enormous. The cult of organised religion as a conspiracy of bewilderment and confusion is nowhere as marked as in Haiti. The use of thugs to protect Government Ministers and repress the people is again far from unknown elsewhere, but nowhere else is it done so crudely. Force, fraud and superstition are used to keep the ruling family in power. It is not done with the finesse used elsewhere and so it is resented the more.

Now, thousands are fleeing from Haiti as they have done from other countries. Haiti is losing its most priceless possession of all: People. But world Statism hates people. It regards the influx of too many as akin to a natural disaster. Statism cannot accept that human beings are the measurement of everything. Instead, it creates frontiers, barriers, throws out people to die on the high seas rather than admit them. All the skills, demands, abilities, of such people are cast aside like falling leaves.

In the United States, Haitians arriving are treated like invading locusts. They are criminals the moment they enter the States, more unwanted than Cubans and far more so than Vietnamese. The States is denying that the Haitian refugees are political. It says they are economic refugees and should return (when they will undoubtedly be executed). But if they find political refugees amongst them, activists against the regime, then for sure they are returned. The others are being placed in concentration camps.

Far less known is what happens to them when they arrive in British Honduras, now recently achieving its independence. They are shot down as they come in. In these shameful incidents, Black soldiers are firing on Black refugees, forcing them to choose between massacre on the coasts or drowning on the high seas.

What crime have the Haitians committed other than to suffer a criminal regime?

The crime is to be human. Had great herds of cattle left one country and migrated to another, this would have been a cause of rejoicing. It would have "increased the national wealth". But when it concerns people, "What are we to do with them?" Unfortunately, it seems, people are not edible.

This is an instance of the powerlessness of humanity today. Until the State is abolished, and national frontiers disappear, one set of people after another are going to be doomed to sail the waters looking for a place that will receive them.

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

"FLAG"- State of play
on 5th December, 1981.

Printing bills paid	411.00	
on account		
Postage	115.55	
Repairs to typewriter	55.00	
Stationery	21.59	
		603.14
Sales & subs	199.97	
Donations*	30.00	229.97
LOSS -		373.13
PREVIOUS LOSS -		3676.76
DEFICIT NOW		£4049.93

* London P.S. £5; Smitherfield £10;
Anon £10; Surrey L.D. £5.

To our horror we notice that our address was also omitted from our issue No. 8 as well as No. 9. No wonder correspondence has dried up! Please note our address is still:

BLACK FLAG

OVER THE WATER, SANDAY,
ORKNEY.

Printed by Anarchy Collective,
London.

There were several things wrong with our last issue (which somewhat marred the new format and smart lay out): as if we didn't have enough trouble getting feedback, renewals and so on, or persuading people that our mail address is genuine, the price, subscription and address were all inexplicably omitted. The paper hasn't gone clandestine yet, just absent-minded. Also, about half the copies which went out were wrongly collated but we figured that readers might well re-sort the pages themselves (they should obviously go from 1, 2, 3 etc rather than 1, 9, 10, 7 and so on).

This hitch has somewhat dried up mail coming in but if you're thinking of renewing your sub. or sending us something, we hope you'll do so now. It would be appreciated if people could let us know when NOT to send copies. . . we go on in some cases sending month after month and even year after year to old addresses, which brings down any chance we might have of not sinking deeper in the red each issue.

If we got paid for every issue we sent out we'd have a modest profit to use for our prisoner support work: as it is, we simply can't look to sales to support it, though we do charge prisoner support postages to the Flag, so the Black Cross can operate on the Dickensian sum of "nothing a week, and keep yourself" and reserve all money received for our prisoners, or enable people to contact them directly, which is far better.

Though we use Over the Water for our mailing address, the problems of the Flag are separate from those of Cienfuegos Press. The Flag could survive on its sales - it is only the wasted postages and unpaid copies that drag it down constantly.

The problems of Cienfuegos Press were succinctly set out in an article by Stuart Christie in 'The Times Higher Education Supplement' (reproduced as a leaflet, which we handed out at the Socialist Book Fair.)

We have not been able to come out as regularly as we would have liked. But this is not a matter for which we can take the whole blame. We hope to do better in the coming year. But ultimately it depends on the degree of activity and to what extent the anarchist movement exists. We have always pioneered new ground in our propaganda. We hope that in the coming year it will be fertile new ground.

subscriptions: £5 per 12 issues;
£10 airmail US, Aus, N.Z.
(or £5 seamail).



Marie Murray, who was condemned to hang for the alleged murder of a policeman in a Dublin bank raid, has won a literary reward in Ireland. The conviction of Marie - in the absence of a jury, on "evidence" obtained by torture, still stains Irish justice and shows it to be of exactly the same breed as the justice obtained north of the Border which the Irish authorities sometimes (generally at election times) denounce.

Marie, who has been held in severe restriction because of her anarchist views, and forbidden to correspond with her friends, took top prize in a competition organised by the Mental Health Association of Ireland for her play "May the Young Moon".

Noel, sentenced at the same time, also remains in The Curragh and mail is erratic - ours certainly never gets there. In this manner the Irish Government has been able to block the case against the Republic and the Garda to recover Anarchist Black Cross funds confiscated when the Murrys were arrested. This could be used to finance a further action, at Strasbourg, to fight for the restoration of conjugal rights to the couple. But without a prior interview with Noel or Marie, the action cannot be brought.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. WHICH (WESTERN BLOC) PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECHES ARE WRITTEN BY A COMMUNIST PARTY HACK OF LONG STANDING?
2. WHICH STATESMAN OF THE THIRTIES - THEN HAILED AS A LEADING ANTI-FASCIST BUT SINCE DENOUNCED BY THE TRENDY LEFT AS AN IMPERIALIST - IS REGARDED AS A KEY FIGURE OF BLACK POWER TODAY BY MANY? THOUGH HE NEVER REGARDED HIMSELF AS OF THE NEGRO RACE BUT INVARIABLY BOASTED OF HIS CLAIMS TO JEWISH DESCENT?
3. WHAT WAS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENERAL MOLA'S CUP OF COFFEE BEING COLD?
4. WHY HAS THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT PERSISTENTLY IGNORED THE QUESTION OF NAZI WAR CRIMES COMMITTED BY PEOPLE NOW LIVING IN CANADA?
5. HENRY FORD CORRECTLY PREDICTED AN OIL CRISIS; BUT WHAT (TYPICALLY) WAS HIS IDEA OF A SOLUTION?
6. WHAT HIGHLY TOPICAL MILITARY REFORM WAS FIRST PUT FORWARD BY MACHIAVELLI?

answers on page. 11



Back in the days when Spanish labour was battling against the ruling class in almost daily strikes (while the rest of Europe the workers were fighting each other in a vain sacrifice to imperialism), in the "anarchist districts" of Barcelona even the newsboys (eight to eleven years old) came out to demand more pay for peddling the daily papers, (pro-German if monarchist, pro-Allied if republican). The proprietors sank their differences on a fight against these fearsome enemies and called out the Guardia Civil. In a cavalry attack upon the newsboys, one armed Guardia Civil fell victim to the stoning - he fell heavily, bleeding from the eye.

The boy - from a home in which father, mother, sisters, brothers were supporters of the CNT (and whose father was one of those who acted as bodyguard to Salvador Segui - the fighting secretary of the unions known affectionately as "Sugarbaby" because his looks belied his toughness) - was assured of support. But Barcelona was not safe for him and he escaped to France.

Thus Miguel Garcia at an early age began his involvement in the international anarchist movement. He came to speak French as well as Spanish. He fought hard in both countries for the libertarian ideal. When the Civil War broke out he drove trucks across the border bringing arms to Spain until stopped. In the Plaza Real, he and his friends and acquaintances gathered together when the fighting broke out. They rushed around Barcelona seizing arms from the gunshops. Had they not done so, the Republic would have starved them of arms to fight the traitor soldiers.

He went to the Saragossa front first, then to the Madrid front where he spent the rest of the Civil war.

When the war ended he fought on against Franco, and was finally sent to a concentration camp where he spent 2½ years for "re-education". But, as he said, he was a "bad pupil". There he met Faceras and the Sabater brothers, and determined, with them, to set up the organisation again once released. They did so. On release they joined the Spanish Resistance (1939-49) of which so little is known.

There were many aspects to it: the smuggling of arms and people over the frontier and down the mountains from or to Barcelona. The re-organisation of the unions of the CNT. The sabotage against Franco and especially against the Axis war effort. One by one the heroes of the Resistance - bandits after 1939 according to Franco, but only after 1945 according to the Allies! - fell to ambushes. Only a few survived. Massana, who died recently, "last of the mountain guerrillas". Miguel Garcia, who died in London on the morning of December 4th this year: urban fighter in France, organiser of illegal printing presses in Barcelona, part of the chain for escapees in Catalonia.

Like many others Miguel was caught and went to prison for 20 years (after a death sentence had been commuted) owing to international pressure. He writes of this graphically in his book "Franco's Prisoner". His comrade-in-arms died, but he managed to survive. And after coming out he entered into a new struggle. Speaking fluent Italian, impeccable French and not quite so good English, he decided to go abroad and denounce the Franco regime; organise fresh resistance and work towards the future. Without a penny, with nothing to back him but sheer guts, he came and joined us in the Black Cross in London.

He spoke all over England and Scotland, but also in West Germany - East Berlin too by a ruse - France, Belgium, Italy. . . I remember so well driving him from town to town and the whoops of our delighted singing after we had passed a forbidden frontier (the Franco police never queried an English car!)

When Miguel's book came out it was widely reviewed, usually compared with another book "In Hiding" about a Socialist major, also an oppon-

ent of Franco, who regarded the anarchists as "fools". In the preface to the German version of "Franco's Prisoner" Miguel commented typically that the mayor had spent thirty years hiding in a cupboard just as - for that matter - had German socialism. His book was for the "fools", in Germany and elsewhere, who resisted. His creed was: In front of tyranny, no compromise, no quarter.

This paper owes a great debt to Miguel Garcia for his advice, experience (and grumbling, sometimes, too). What the international revolutionary movement owes him no one will ever fully know. His contacts in Spain made it possible for us to help a large number of libertarian prisoners; but his contacts were not only in Spain. All over Europe there are people he helped one way or another (a real internationalist, he was just as much concerned in helping people to squat in London as re-building the union movement in Catalonia). At the time of his death he was trying to see if he could visit the States on a lecture tour "and after that, I'll come to Africa with you."

Miguel died of TB after a hard life but one well worth while. He has been a great inspiration to us all.

ALBERT MELTZER



MIGUEL GARCIA

A PERSONAL APPRECIATION

I first met Miguel in 1973. He was then 67 but could easily have been mistaken for a man in his late 40's. Squarely-built, a shock of thick black hair brushed straight back from his forehead, bespectacled, and dressed casually in check work shirt and corduroy trousers, he was anything but the popular image of a Spanish Anarchist. I had expected him to be an old man, bowed down by his twenty years in Franco's prisons. Not a bit of it. Instead, he seemed to have been actually preserved by his years inside; held in suspended animation whilst he stored up energy and ideas for action. He had not witnessed the years of defeat and internal squabbling which had taken the life out of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile. He had gone into prison fighting, and that was the way he had come out.

Miguel's comrades in arms, who had fought in the civil war had gone on fighting in the 'peace' - refusing the recognise defeat - no longer functioned in any organised way by the time he was released in 1969. Most were dead, still in prison, or in exile. But a new generation had sprung up whilst Miguel was inside to carry on the work of the libertarian Resistance. As soon as he was released, Miguel plunged straight back into the struggle again, as International Secretary of the newly-reformed Anarchist Black Cross. Bringing practical aid to libertarian prisoners all over the world, and making solidarity an effective springboard to militant action, the aim of the Black Cross was to build a revolutionary anarchist International; not on paper, but out of deeds. This was instrumental in re-structuring the Resistance and (through the FOI) keeping alive the libertarian traditions in the Spanish workers' movement that led to the re-emergence of the CNT. As a result of helping the anarchist fighters in Spain such activity activated anarchist movement in many other parts of the world, including Britain, France, Belgium, and West Germany. Miguel's part in all this was immeasurable.

My introduction to the revolutionary anarchist movement was through the campaign of solidarity with the resistance groups of the MIL, and in particular the attempts to save one of their members, Salvador Puig-Antich, from the garrot. Puig-Antich was put to death with this mediaeval instrument at 4am, on 2nd March 1974. Miguel had met the young Catalan anarchist and liked him. But typically his concern was for the living, for continuing the struggle.

Throughout this period, Miguel ran the International Liberation Centre/Centro Iberico at Haverstock Hill, North London. It was from there that BLACK FLAG (which Miguel had run with Albert Meltzer when its editor, Stuart Christie, was in prison during the 'Angry Brigade' trials) was printed and published. There, also, comrades from Spain and around the world, learned the mysteries of off-set litho printing, and found the practical assistance and friendship which made the Black Cross aim of an international into a living reality. Visiting comrades could always be sure of a welcome, food, a bed for the night, or a place to squat when Miguel was there. To the casual observer, he was sometimes over-critical and prickly, but all who knew him for any length of time soon discovered his warm and generous heart. From the Centro were organised a string of successful benefit concerts in aid of libertarian prisoners and the Spanish Resistance, as well as countless solidarity campaigns and defence groups. The Murray Defence Group in London, which succeeded through a campaign of international solidarity in forcing the release of Ronan Stenson, and getting the death penalties handed out to Noel and Marie Murray in Dublin (June 1976) commuted to life imprisonment, owed its existence and much of its subsequent success to the energy and determination of Miguel.

Whether helping to publish BLACK FLAG, speaking at meetings around the country, organising the printing and distribution of clandestine anarchist literature inside Spain, or any of the many and varied forms of activity he undertook, Miguel could always be relied upon to inject an air of common-sense, strength, and practicality into the proceedings. He could be grumpy, and was never one to suffer fools gladly (often seeming harsh in his judgements of people), but he was always fair in his dealings with everyone he encountered. He always allowed them the benefit of the doubt, giving them the chance to prove the real worth by their actions. Miguel always maintained the highest degree of integrity and sincerity in everything he did. He always remained faithful to his idea of revolutionary struggle, and never ceased caring or fighting. Whenever things were bad, and no matter how bad they got, his answer was always the same: "We must DO something." Action was always his prime concern, words always came a poor second place. He never lost that most important quality of a true revolutionary: the instinctive urge to rebel against injustice.

He loved to be surrounded by friends and comrades (though he always insisted on having some time alone with his thoughts each day), and regale them with a rich fund of stories and reminiscences about the old Resistance. But he never ever boasted or tied to squeeze any personal glory from his own exploits. He possessed a quiet, unassuming, dignity. FRANCO'S PRISONER, his autobiography (published in 1972), was written with the same consideration that underlay everything he did in life: to stimulate others to action. The pen for Miguel was just another weapon with which to fight. His contribution to the work of the Spanish Resistance and the international anarchist movement was far greater than he would ever choose to admit openly. His modesty was a combination of natural unobtrusiveness and a practical regard for the rules of conspiracy. Pride and vanity were very different things for Miguel.

His comrades in the Black Cross repeatedly tried to persuade him to write a sequel to FRANCO'S PRISONER, setting down more about events of which he was probably the sole-survivor. The idea appealed to him, but he was always too busy doing "more important" things in the present to bother much about recording the past. In his forward to FRANCO'S PRISONER, Miguel wrote:

"When we lost the war, those who fought on became the Resistance. But to the world, the Resistance had become criminals, for Franco had made the laws. . . . When we are imprisoned, liberals are not interested, for we are 'terrorists'. They will defend the prisoners of conscience, for they are innocent; they have suffered from tyranny, but not resisted it. I was among the guilty. I fought, I fell, I survived. The last is the more unusual."

Miguel was a survivor, who never gave up fighting. In the last three years he had gone back to Spain, opened a cafe, and become immersed in the struggle in his old territory once again.

On the last occasion I saw him in London, in June this year, he was still full of plans for the future. Though more tired, lonely, and feeling his age (exasperated by ill-health which he tried to ignore) than ever I saw him in the past, his sole concern was the same as ever: "We must DO something!"

It is with people like Miguel that we will build a free society. I have lost a very dear friend and comrade. I miss him badly.

PHIL RUFF

LETTERS

Dear Black Flag, (sounds sincere already don't it?)

Certainly a grim issue, anarchists murdered, repression the Hunger Strikers, Kitson scenarios and Henry Black's put down of the riots. Only A.M. seems to have grasped that the latter — uprisings — were healthy a fightback. That "they have so far only lashed through poor, run-down working class areas of the inner cities, instead of taking the destruction and violence to where it belongs.." ignores the fact that "Whitehall and the multi-national corporations" got quite upset as I remember it. More damage was done, goods liberated, and fun had by many than the Angry Brigades actions (not to say that as a small number of people they behaved admirably!) So the base is in the working class — even proles 'cos they know it's a dog's life — this time in acts. Even the sentencing of people — although disgusting and requiring reprisals that are yet to come — caught in the street battles has been low in comparison to Angries.

The need for clubs, co-operatives etcetra is no joke. We'll need places to meet in cases of further rebellions, and especially to co-ordinate against isolation if selected areas are repressed. On that note too the "mindless sloganising of Berlin, Belfast, Brixton.." should not be "knocked on the head" the desire for real contact between people from these and other areas of revolt is very healthy. And the Brixton locals who were chanting Bristol, Bristol looked at other history makers for example. Let's face it

Belfast and Berlin people I've met were really interested in what is happening here.

LETTER FROM IRELAND

Dear Black Flag,

One could start by saying thanks for the 'Republican' edition of the 'Flag' when can we expect to see the 'anarchist' edition? Some other comrades thought it was pure nationalist crap.

Following is an article from the Dublin anarchist paper 'Free Paper Number One' "Dirt Behind the Daydream", this article should be reprinted in the next "Flag". I must point out that I don't agree with a lot in the article but it is proof that not every anarchist in Ireland is a nationalist-catholic under the skin or an opportunist riding on the provo bankwagon or should I say hearse.

Salud,

Col — Dublin

Dirt Behind the Daydream

An analysis of Provie politics shows them up as the historical dinosaur they are. They are a hierarchical & male-dominated organisation with statist aims & methods. For all their talk of opposition to imperialism, they in no way oppose capital & their opposition to the state consists only of an opposition to the present constitution of the state in Northern Ireland. Their partial opposition to imperialism is shown by their refusal to consider the area of US imperialism both north & south.

Other aspects of Provie ideology are well-known: their respect for property, especially their own property, & their operation as the police force of the Catholic ghettos: their position on drugs — dope is wrong, drink is good, especially if you buy it in our clubs — though their opposition is only to potentially liberating drugs, as shown by recent reports of Provies dealing valium to the youth of Turf Lodge. Their reactionary views on private morals are less well known often they have used direct threats to maintain the sanctity of marriage until death. While they escape taking a stand in support of women's control of their own bodies by claiming contraception to be a personal matter, their opposition to abortion should cause feminists to reflect on their support of the Armagh women.

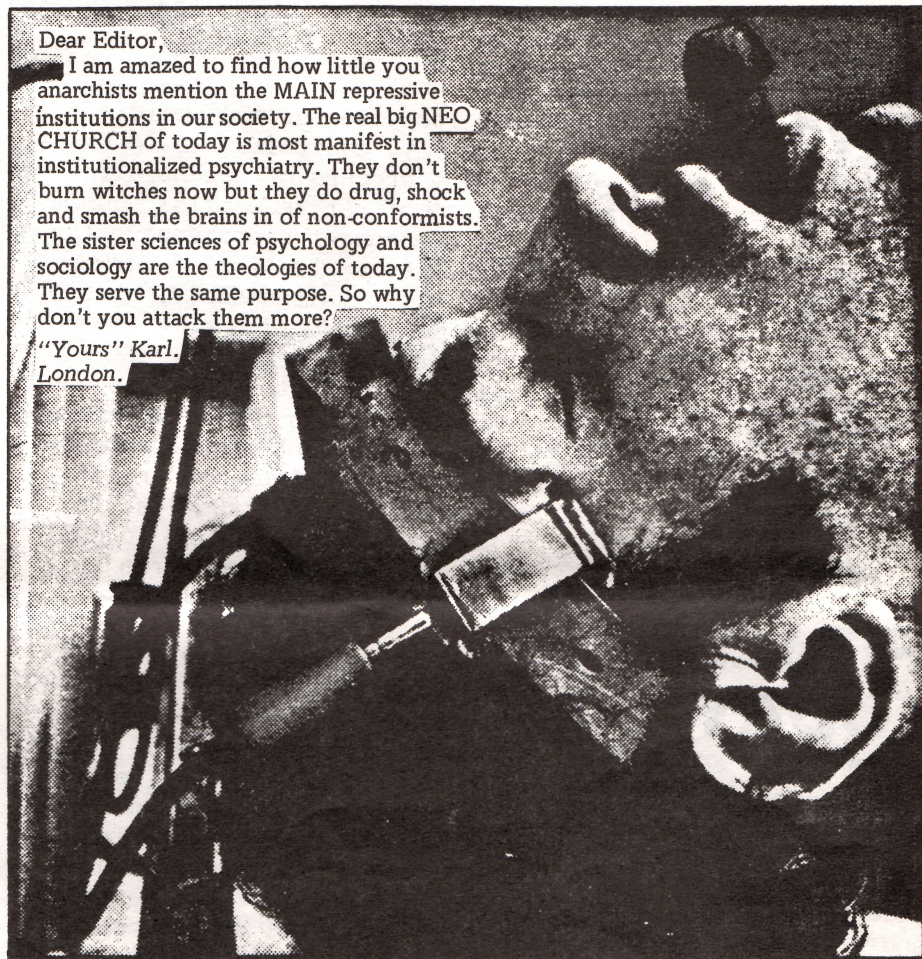
The demand for 'political status' by the Provies is due to their wishes to be recognised by the Brit state as a political force as entitled as any other to partake in the spoils of government and a recognition of the right of government to exist. (It is also a refusal to recognise the politics of crime in capitalist society). The Provies grandiose plans to rule Ireland from Athlone should also be remembered by anarchists who now support them.

To find anarchists supporting a distinction between 'political' & ordinary prisoners is a desecration of their sacred ideology. It's ridiculous that we should have to point out here that support for special status for one group of prisoners — on the grounds that they are more special/political than others? — runs counter to all anarchist principles. Exactly why Provie & INLA prisoners should be considered more worthy of support & political

Dear Editor,

I am amazed to find how little you anarchists mention the MAIN repressive institutions in our society. The real big NEO CHURCH of today is most manifest in institutionalized psychiatry. They don't burn witches now but they do drug, shock and smash the brains in of non-conformists. The sister sciences of psychology and sociology are the theologies of today. They serve the same purpose. So why don't you attack them more?

"Yours" Karl.
London.



As good internationalists the anarchists in Spain and all over were graffiting their area as the next hot spot. Let's not pull out the old horses of instruction when the tigers of wrath are wisely prowling. . .

As followed many other urban rebellions in the recent past, an upsurge of Gangsters (with normal hierarchy, family ties, private property, fetishes of race/religion/patriarchy etc.) is 'indirectly encouraged' by the State.

Bye for now
G.H.

P.S. Wot about printing Prisoner's addresses too! So we can write to them as requested. . .

MARTIN PAGE

It was sad to read of the death, so young, of Martin Page in the last issue. You refer to his 'always being there to keep the show going' and I would like to add his unique contribution to anarchist history. He was by trade an offset printer. He taught a number of volunteers how to use an offset press: those he taught have in turn taught others. British, Irish, Spanish, German, Australian and American comrades enjoyed his tuition and passed it on, taking it all over the world.

T.K.

NMA NA HEIREANN

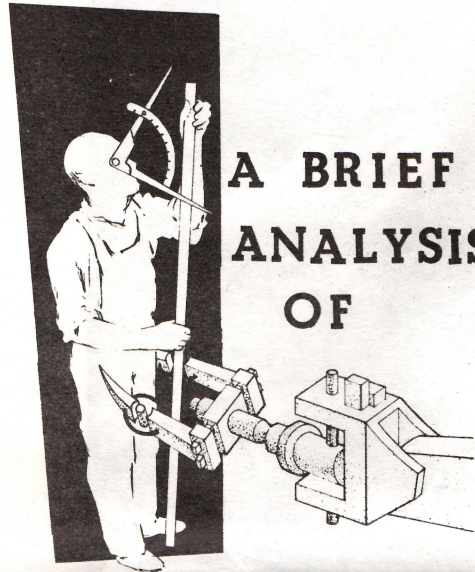
As inexcusable was the way the 'women's movement' in the south was tacked onto the traditional Provie support, just as the Armagh protest was tacked on to the Kesh one. On the basis of the lowest common denominator — they're women in prison, we must support them — the almost invisible womens' movement in the south was provided with a distraction from any need to partake in action in the south that might in some way affect their daily lives & those of their unorganised sisters. In many cases (see Roisin Boyd's article in SPARE RIB, Feb 80 as an example) this has developed into a parroting of nationalist ideology & a total abandonment of consideration of the position of protestant women & even those catholic women who do not support the armed struggle.

The most ludicrous example of this ill-conceived tailending was the PD* slogan "Armagh is the central issue for Irish women" thus relegating to 'their proper place' such marginal issues as rape & sexual violence, control of fertility, womens role as reproducers of the relations of productions, women & personal relations as commodities, housing, autonomous sexuality, child-minding & child-bearing, toxic work & dumping placing the interests of a few women prisoners in Armagh above the interests of women both north & south imprisoned in their homes, jobs & traditional roles by church state & capital, and in the north by the armed patriarchy.

The part played by PD* women (whose failure as feminists is attested to by examining the politics & roles of PDmen) in this was considerable. While mouthings were made about extending the campaign to support all women prisoners in Ireland, needless to say nothing was done in this direction. The 'womens' movement' thus rushed to the aid of its dubious sisters in Armagh — whose imprisonment has little to do with their political position as women and whose aim is national liberation not liberation — while ignoring the real women prisoners in the south, imprisoned for acts related to their sex & class, and the conditions that created these prisoners. No opposition to the new womens' prison in Clondalkin, as one example, came from those who find Armagh a useful excuse for their refusal or inability to act on the position of women in the south in their daily life, infinitely more fruitful & real in its possibilities.

It would appear that women must wait, as labour once waited, relegated to a back-seat until important male questions — such — who rules who — are resolved. And no doubt wait for the glorious days of national liberation when the Provie supporters support womens' demands for free autonomous sexuality & everyday life & help free Noreen Winchester as well.

*Peoples' Democracy



A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF

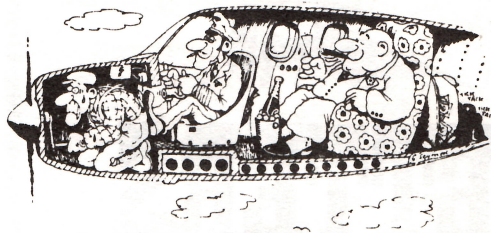
CAPITALISM TODAY

(From "Debate Anarchosindicalista" No 2....5th Congress CNT Valencia.)

At the present time capitalism is engaged in a process of transition and restructuring, moving from the industrial stage into the multinational technology. This restructuring process requires a new re-planning of the world economy which will guarantee the installation of the new technology. The emphasis is mainly upon the most profitable sectors such as nuclear energy, chemicals, electronics etc. Less productive areas like textiles, farming etc are to be jettisoned or reworked.

In its plan for the world economy, capitalism is initiating a process of decentralisation of the industrial economy as a means of sidestepping large scale concentration of workers and of, simultaneously, spreading the production of a given product over a variety of regions or states. In this way the scattering of the workforce is an important impediment to the co-ordination and proliferation of its struggles. It also allows capitalism to pull out of any "problem" area to an area of less conflict.

The oil crisis is being skillfully manipulated by the capitalists to extort larger profits, which they will invest in new energy sources (especially nuclear energy) and spend upon research and implementation of the new technology... all with an eye to conserving their political and economic control while oil reserves are dwindling. In this restructuring process capitalism must use every means within its grasp, including unrestricted exploitation of the working class through the wage freeze, incessant increases in direct and indirect taxes; escalating productivity norms with reduced workforces; and the hijacking of public monies hitherto destined for education and health services etc.



The switch to, and implementation of the new technology, which requires little manpower will not bring reductions in the working hours, nor earlier retirement. Instead, it is bringing unemployment (which will continue to grow alarmingly) for huge numbers of workers. At any given moment of need, this pool of unemployed workers can stand in for workers burned out physically by the exhausting demands imposed by increased productivity norms, as well as for those who try to fight back. Then again, this situation of uncertainty strikes fear into the worker, who is terrified of losing his job, and this fear acts upon him whenever he is faced with the opportunity to participate in any labour dispute. Furthermore, world capitalism will have at its disposal an army of jobless available for any urgent tasks which may arise and for transfer from one place to another to meet its immediate needs. These can be harnessed for super-exploitation, faced as they will be by the choice between hunger or casual work.

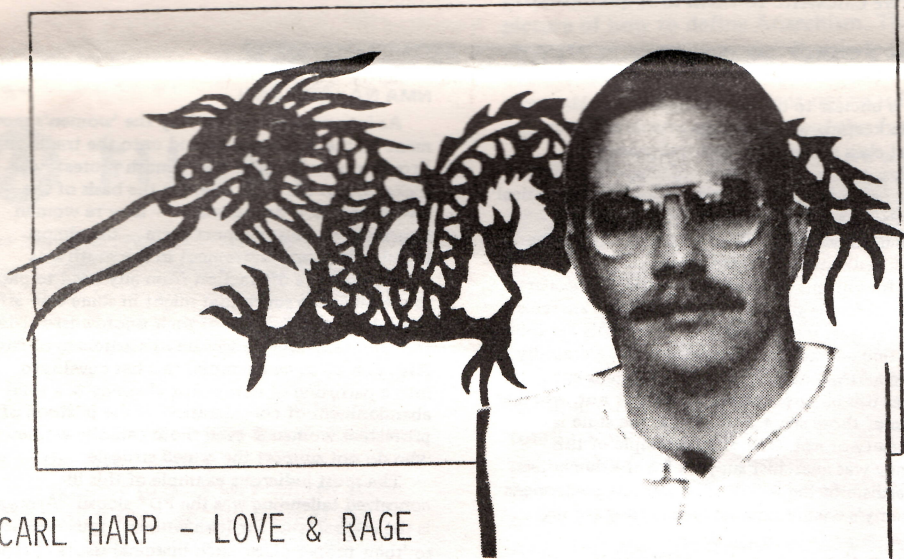
Before it can implement its designs, capitalism needs two things - and the meeting of those two needs is already well advanced. Basically it needs: 1) A strengthening of its impressive arsenals...anti-terrorist legislation; the creation of specialist units; introduction of the new technology of police control; permanent police presence on the streets etc.

2) The integration of the working classes into the capitalist system through the collaboration of the political parties on the 'Left', and the trade union groupings - which are nothing but an alternative face of authority, their sole function being to control and emasculate the labour movement by passing themselves off as representatives of the working class, making revolutionary self organisation of the workers an impossibility.

What really cowers behind the capitalists' present schemes is nothing short of the creation of an automaton-society, with a techno-bureaucratic state to exercise rigid police control over the citizen at work and in the streets, forever ready to repress with severity any attempt to question the system.



1/48th Scale



CARL HARP - LOVE & RAGE

Carl saw anarchism as a practice of making change rather than just interpreting reality. Well known inside for being a jailhouse lawyer, he surprised everyone when on May 9th, he and two others armed with a knife and bullhorn, seized a part of the prison and took ten staff hostage to, "expose to the world the gross injustice and inhumanity in the penitentiary and force improvements."

Answering why he abandoned legal resistance, Carl said, "They've got all this beautiful logic of why you should be in jail. Fuck it man. I've filed petitions, letters and protests...All it's doing is jumping off the St. Louis Bridge...I've had first hand experience doing everything in protests in all the bourgeois forms. I've got scars all over my body inside and outside. Now it's war. WAR. All the negotiations have ended. Either clean up your act or get down. I'm behind anyone getting down..."

May 9th was a beautiful day brother, a day of liberation for me. I regained totally my humanity. My faith in our cause soared high when I saw the total support that we received. Prisoners cheered us and stood bare-handed in front of armed pigs and refused to move in order to protect us.

I walked through the door expecting May 9th to be my last day on this earth. But I AM ALIVE BABY, and grinning ear to ear."

No one was hurt by the action and the three did embarrass the prison system publicly. "The best and most successful armed action is that which harms no one and gets the job done...Even our hostages have come to the hole to see that we are not harmed."

INQUEST OF CARL HARP'S MURDER

PRISONERS STILL THREATENED AT WALLA WALLA

As Stated in our last issue, Carl Harp, a revolutionary anarchist prisoner, was found hanging in his segregation cell September 5th 1981. There was known to have been a contract put on his life by the guards at the Washington State Penitentiary. People there said that he was alive when found, but died shortly afterwards. Those who knew Carl well insist he was murdered. The State immediately claimed suicide. An inquest was held October 14th.

Carl sent out at least two letters to friends outside the day he was killed. He talked about feeling strange vibrations towards him from others inside - but he couldn't pinpoint it. He had a feeling something serious was coming up, But, he wasn't prepared to give up, and talked about fighting back. In both letters, he wrote about upcoming events concerning him such as some action in support of a parole. Discussed too was the upcoming tenth issue of the Anarchist Black Dragon, and getting back to general population.

Several days before, Black militant Benny Washington was supposed to have been killed during a melee in the cafeteria Benny was said to have been one of three prisoners along with Carl on a hit list from fascist guards known as either the Washington Cowboys or the Aryan Brotherhood. Fortunately, he got wind of the hit and avoided dinner.

Two prisoners testified under oath. Willy Butler, a prisoner in a cell besides Carl's said the tier was so noisy that if anyone entered Carl's cell and beat him up, he wouldn't have been able to hear. John Bosch, a close comrade of Carls insisted that Carl was murdered by the State for his political activity.

The pathologist impressed people as being senile. He couldn't identify Carl from the photographs, and said the only wounds he found were injuries to his wrists and throat. He didn't produce toxology reports to determine if Carl was drugged because, "We haven't received them yet." (5 weeks after being sent...?) It took two days to find the razor blades that slashed his wrists - hidden under the mattress and in the garbage.

The two guards who were supposed to be guarding Carl's tier were off in the kitchen getting food for other guards when Carl supposedly committed suicide.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



KOREA

We learn the Japanese anarchist, Ozeki Hiroshi, announces publication of a history of the Korean anarchist movement. Although there are 650,000 Koreans in Japan (most born after World War II), very little, if anything, is known about the Korean anarchist movement. Hiroshi made an extended trip of Korea to gather first-hand material for this history.

He was very much surprised to meet many veteran Korean militants who in spite of persecution and aging have nevertheless succeeded in maintaining a solid anarchist organisation. The editorial committee of the Korean Anarchist Federation is completing a history of Korean anarchism, now being translated into Japanese by comrade Hiroshi and two other comrades. Wat Tyler is preparing an English edition based on the Japanese translation.

The book deals (among other subjects) with the war against Japan, the organisation of anarchist centres throughout Korea; documents of Korean anarchist groups from 1923 to the post-World War II period; the establishment of the Institute for Korean Studies; attempts to organise anarchist rural communes and intensive campaigns to organise artisans and industrial workers, and other activities fostered by a widespread Korean anarchist press.

Especially interesting is the independent participation of Korean anarchists in the Chinese revolution in China and Southern China, where the Korean anarchists took part in the people's struggles and also helped organise rural communes and Labour Institutes.

Philip Kiritsis, John Skandalis and Kiriakos Moiras are on hunger strike in Koridallos Prison Hospital since Oct 30 demanding amnesty. They are serving nine, five and five years respectively.

Their previous hunger strike, in 1980, secured the release of Sofia Kiritsi after three and a half years prison. Then the Opposition parties backed our comrades as political prisoners. But since the victory of the Panhellenic Socialist Party, many of those who backed their demand for amnesty are Ministers now. Stathis Alexandris, for instance who protested against their torture, is now Minister of Justice. But a month has gone since he took office and they are still suffering in prison.

Five other anarchists are also in prison. Writes Sofia Kiritsi: "The fuss about my dying or living has now been silenced. But as long as the State keeps on applying such plans of extermination, comrades keep on dying in prisons and hospitals." Indignation at police repression turned the scale against the old government. But so far the new government has done nothing about it. From Athens, Sofia issued a moving call for the release of all revolutionaries.



Italian police looking for folk singers



Roberto das Neves, a militant anarchist since his student days in Coimbra (Portugal), when he was a contributor to and correspondent of *A Batalha* in that city along with Arnaldo Simoes Januario (who perished in the camp at Tarrafal) has died in Brazil where he had been a refugee since 1942.

He was highly active in the anarchist movement in the propagation of ideas and action as a journalist. He was present at the Alenquer Conference at which the Portuguese Anarchist Union was set up. During the dictatorship he was editor of the newspaper *A Rebelião* (Rebellion) as a result of which he suffered persecution. He was expelled from Coimbra University and was in Lisbon in 1931 when the student strike erupted; he was active in it, being wounded and arrested by police.

He spent some time as a refugee in Spain before returning to Portugal, but was obliged to emigrate to Brazil; there, too, he was the victim of persecution.

In Rio de Janeiro, he set up the publishing house Editorial Germinal which published a number of works banned in Portugal, such as works by Tomaz da Foviseca.

ITALY

A member of the Milan anti-terrorist squad was shot dead in Milan central station on 13 November when he stopped two men and asked for their ID cards.

The cop, Eleno Discardi (25), was hit five times when one of the men drew a pistol and opened up. Other cops at the scene and some passengers gave chase to the two and captured them.

They were identified as Giorgio Soldati (28), said by the police to be an organiser of the Front Line guerrilla organisation in the Milan area, and Bernardo della Corte (24) from Naples. Three pistols and hand grenades are said to have been found on them. Both declared themselves to be political prisoners.

ITALIAN FOLK SONG

I'm a terrorist
You're a terrorist
He's a terrorist
She's a terrorist
Everyone's a terrorist

Please, please put me in jail
Won't you please put me in jail
My friends are all in jail
The most interesting people are all in jail

The state says I did it all
It says that I pissed on the wall
It says that I kidnapped a shoe
It even claims that I've killed you
Cause I'm a terrorist
Such a terrorist

I can't afford staying free
Inflation is just killing me
I can't pay my rent, don't you see
And now Fiat's gonna fire me

Carabinieri, put me away
I can't wait another day
You better do just way I say
Else I'll blow up the Duomo today

—Officer, arrest me!
—Why? What have you done?
—I've done everything.
—Have you raped your mother?
—Several times and then I killed Moro!
—Do you have any evidence?
—Who needs evidence? This is Italy!

Please, please put me in jail
It's just not fair to leave me free
The intellectuals are all allowed in jail
The state's discriminating against me

Red Brigadists, you'd better watch out
Cause now I'm a terrorist too
I'm a terrorist just like you
Move over Prima Linea, make some room for me
Now the state says I can be a terrorist too
I can be a terrorist just like you

Roberto das Neves

PAKISTAN

For the "crime" of publishing "anti-State material", a Pakistani newspaper editor has been sentenced to a year in jail and ten lashes. Irshad Rao, editor of the Urdu language "Al-Fatah", received this astonishing sentence, but also two printers at the newspaper were sentenced to a year each, as well as five lashes each, solely for the printing of the criticism of Pakistan's military dictators.

The uncivilised brutality of Pakistan's dictatorship — quick to seize on its critics and on those who work for them — should be held accountable in other countries. In the days when there was a public conscience in these matters, the Austrian General Haynau was flogged in a London street by brewers' draymen incensed at his troops' attacks on Italian women rebels. Young Pakistan officers get their training here as cadets.

Call me a brigadisti,
Call me a fascisti
I'll be anything you want me to be
I'll be a terrorist just for you
Because Police State baby
I love you
How I love you

It's the latest thing, it's really a fad
It all stated in Paris with Pierre Cardin
But now it's spreading fast
And looks like it's gonna last
Come on everyone, give us a sexy terrorist look

Yeah, I'm a terrorist
I'm such a terrorist because
I pick my nose
I smoke marijuana
I missed a day of work
I wrote a book
I say dirty words
I love oral sex
I went on strike
I ran a red light
Cause I'm a terrorist
I'm such a terrorist
I'm homosexual, bisexual, transexual, asexual
I ride the bus without a ticket
I laugh at policemen
I'm ugly, I smell funny
I masturbate, I meditate
I philosophise
I steal candy from babies
I make pipi in my pants
Cause I'm a terrorist

Everything you say, everything you think
Everytime you dream, every song you sing
Yeah, everything you do is terrorist
Terrorists of the world unite!
You have nothing to lose but your labels!

Now we're terrorists
You're terrorists
They're terrorists
Everything the moves is terrorist
The Pope's a terrorist
My grandmother is a terrorist
This song is terribly terrorist
as are certain species of plants, oranges,
ashtrays, fountain pens, vacuum cleaners,
tooth brushes, diaphragms, spermicide,
vasaline, dentures...

URUGUAY

The super-exploitation of Uruguay, which has been transformed in recent years from a "model state — another Switzerland" to a harshly repressive fascist state, has meant the suppression of workers organisations and the institutionalisation of torture and "disappearances", on the Argentine pattern.

Some unions are attempting to rebuild, either clandestinely in Uruguay or from abroad. One of these is the National Centre of Workers, the CNT which is organised from London. But do not mistake it for the other CNT, the National Confederation of Labour, in Spain, which is anarcho-syndicalist. The CNT of Uruguay is a reunion of the old, reformist trade unions. They are struggling to exist, but can never resist dictatorship because of their beliefs in centralisation.

The anarchist organisation, FORU (Workers Federation of the region of Uruguay), was the equivalent to the CNT — in ideology rather than size. Its principles are still being spread in Uruguay but by clandestine groups only.

5 prisoners from the CNT have called off a 12 day hunger strike in Segovia Prison after most of their demands were granted.

The 5 who began the strike on 11 September are Vicente Domínguez, Medina, Francisco Sevilla Soler, Jose Luis Piquero Pérez, Fernando Merino del Rio and Angel Antón Busnadiego.

Some of the factors contributing to the decision to mount a hunger strike were: provocation and ill-treatment by warders

of late, the strict observance of the harshest provisions of the new prison regulations, restrictions on the number of food parcels prisoners may receive for cooking by their own hands (cut down to 4 kilos of fruit and vegetables a fortnight), confinement to cells for 23 hours each day, the destruction or confiscation of personal effects, the digestive upsets caused by poor food, as well as the refusal to explain the case of Alfonso Morales Calvo who was seized on 15 September and hustled off to Burgos Prison while incommunicado.

On 15 September the protest was joined by a further 50 prisoners, some of them ordinary prisoners, a whole gallery. When they smashed milk bottles by way of protest 6 of them were seized and bundled off to Burgos. One of them Alfonso Morales Calvo.

On the same day comrades José Grandos, Fidel Manrique, Francisco Moreno, Florencio Muñoz, Jose Antonio Tello, Manuel Muner Alain Drogou and Fernando Simón Fernández, all of them inmates of Carabanchel joined a hunger strike in solidarity with their colleagues in Segovia. After 6 days, three of them, suffering from anaemia, pulled out of the protests.

SPAIN



Carabanchel after the prison riots of 1977

Repression and the continuing "suicides" occasioned by prisons throughout the state and which warders attribute to overcrowding and staff shortages with control difficulties, are in fact due to the coercion to which prisoners are subjected. The only aim warders have in mind is to drive already strained nerves to breaking point in order to justify the employment of more prison staff members as well as boosting their already inflated rates of monetary reward.

The only demand not granted is that food parcels should be admitted every fortnight at least, since this rule obtains throughout the country.

IN PRISONS, NOTHING HAS CHANGED

In the light of the most recent developments in several prisons such as the Modelo in Barcelona, the prisoners in Carabanchel, meeting in assembly on the 3rd gallery wish to make public:

A) The barrage of information maintained, with regard to the prisons by the Government through all its media resources over the past few months. They have manipulated the information flow to their own advantage and said nothing about the pleaded ignorance

of the torture-based terror which our comrades have been enduring and suffering under the cellular régime prisons of Ocaña, Burgos, Herrera de la Mancha, El Puerto de Santa Maria, etc.

B) We wish to denounce the manipulation of the strike which did not emanate spontaneously from the prisoners but rather at a time and in conditions selected by the upper echelons and in pursuit of demands largely contrary to the very interests of the prisoners and favourable to the Administration, as is the current Prison Reform programme, the attempt to implement which provoked the serious developments of last month in the Youth Department of Carabanchel. We feel ourselves disadvantaged by most of what has been revealed of the latest drafts of reforms to the Penal Code and especially by those areas concerned with the implementation of legislation such as the

Security of the Citizen legislation which leaves "the citizen" utterly defenceless.

Consequently we demand and hereby spell out publicly our true interests which are as follows:

1. Total amnesty (either by means of a Royal Decree or by means of a succession of specific pardons).
2. Immediate implementation of a law by means of which provisional liberty (bail) may be made available to anyone who, after 6 months at most in custody, has not been brought for trial.
3. An immediate end to torture and the abolition of all cellular wings.
4. The trial and sentencing of all torturers and the purging of fascist elements who riddle the prison staffs.

3rd Gallery, Carabanchel,
29th September, 1981.



CNT



AIT



ANARCHISM ON TRIAL

When, on 30 January 1977, just 6 days after the 'atocha massacre' (planned by members of the intelligence services and perpetrated by extreme rightwingers) some 50 libertarian activists were arrested in Barcelona (most of them CNT members) and accused of attempting to reconstitute the FAI, few would have suspected that this police operation would mark the historic beginning of a fresh attack on anarchism in the wake of Franco's death...the launching of a plot to implicate the CNT and the whole libertarian movement in new legal proceedings.

In fact this was only the first move, which was to be followed by others. In them we have been able to discern the hand of agents provocateurs controlled by the security services whose aim is to repress and harass anarchist elements, neutralise the growing influence of the CNT (evident inside the labour movement) and create a gulf between the workers and the anarchists, thereby encouraging reformist elements within the anarcho-syndicalist labour confederation.

The considerable influence carried by anarchists and libertarians who reacted as one to the provocation of 30th January 1977, prevented the CNT from bowing the knee and being integrated into the political process of pactism that has been guaranteeing the demobilisation of the labour movement, a vital precondition for the survival and continuity of the elements of neo-Francoism.

As a result of the CNT's refusal to be emasculated, the enemy has been obliged to resort to a series of provocations and pursue a policy of constant harassment of CNT members.

Thus, in the wake of the 50 arrests in Barcelona, there came (in February 1977) police swoops in Murcia and Malaga, fresh arrests in Barcelona and various cities in the Peninsula until we arrived at the 'Scala' provocation. Then, in October 1977 came a dragnet in the Catalan Pyrenees - the aim was to implicate the CNT's Catalan Regional Committee, no less. Involved in this set up was one Eduardo Sole, resident of Perpignan, an agent provocateur in the employ of the Guardia Civil's intelligence services and also known to have worked with the French D.S.T.

Meanwhile, after all of those arrested on 30th January 1977 in Barcelona, and thereafter in Murcia, Malaga and Barcelona again, and all lumped together in indictment No 21/77, drawn up by Judge Gomez Chamarro, Judge presiding in Central Court No.1 of the Audiencia Nacional...after all of these had been released under an amnesty...17 of them found themselves "denied amnesty" on the prompting of the Prosecutor-General, with the approval of the then Interior Minister, Rodolfo Martin Villa.

This scandalous act represents an act of provocation with precedent in the context of the current political process and can be assimilated with the authorities' constant repression of political and labour elements advocating a complete break with the preceding regime



SENEGAL

Anarchism is born

The libertarian movement has always has problems making any headway in Black Africa. Are things beginning to change, however?

In June 1981, a number of Senegalese met on the island of Goree, off Dakar and decided to set up an association (or anarchist "party") within the law, capitalising upon the complete political pluralism allegedly introduced under the presidency of Abdou Diouf (who took over from Leopold Senghor). They have published an initial statement in a fairly satirical magazine, entitled *LE POLITICIEN* which sees itself as Senegal's very own *LE CANARD ENCHAINE!* This is the statement we reprint below:

Certain aspects of the text, certain expressions may seem startling to European minds, as might certain features of the list of signatories.

THE ANARCHISTS ARE ORGANISING (A STATEMENT BY THE ANARCHISTS OF SENEGAL).

After thorough analysis of the political, economic and social circumstances of our country as well as consideration of existing Senegalese political groups which are pretty well antagonistic and tear one another to shreds in endless theoretical and vapid arguments, more inclined to depress than to inspire, and which have little sway over the masses of the people, the Senegalese anarchist of every nationality have reached the following conclusions:

- Existing economic and social structures are an impediment to the social machinery in Senegal and obstacles to human progress. In the light of past experience, the social structures and schemes peddled by those parties and groups presently active stand every chance of rendering these impediments permanent, albeit in a different format, by installing a new class or group of exploiters in place of the old ones.

- The parties vying with one another and locking antlers in the political arena in Senegal have, paradoxically enough, no other trumpets to blow that might place them each in the limelight. This deficiency largely accounts for their phoney differences and present/future weakness in the face of the common enemy...to wit, western imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the hegemony of the great powers.

- The pronounced deficiency of Senegalese political groups, their insistence upon believing that they alone have a monopoly on truth and proper strategy. When the programmes they offer, and their political practices are all but indistinguishable, show, as one might have anticipated, that once they have "won" power they cannot but introduce a totalitarian State of a right-wing or left-wing complexion... a State which will demand of the masses of the people that they blindly obey bureaucratic

leaders more inclined to conspiracy than democracy.

- Given the hegemonistic inclinations which characterise them, not one single party out of those currently active (whether in power or in opposition) is capable of promoting a direct democracy wherein the masses of the people and free workers will be in a position to see that their wishes are respected and their just needs met by their directed leaders.

On the basis of several conclusions drawn from their analysis, the anarchists of Senegal (drawn from several countries) have determined to move on from the stage when they were evolving like a fish in the waters of the Senegalese scene to the stage of organisation.

The constant and overriding preoccupation of the anarchists of Senegal is not that they should take power, but rather that they should campaign tirelessly on the terrain of practice and of theory against all authority which is, quintessentially, evil and against private appropriation of the larger means of production.

We struggle for the realisation of a self-managed, decentralised, federalist socialism. In our programme we shall go into a more detailed explanation of the basis and content of that socialism which has nothing to do with imported socialisms or other demagogic and authoritarian and alleged 'African' brands of socialism.

In the society for the realisation of which we strive the means of production will be utilised in common by Senegalese workers banded together within a framework of direct democracy.

In the society which we conceive we have (without denying them utterly) steered clear of foreign theories and models, and, instead, have drawn inspiration especially from the content and format of Senegalese and African social groupings, seen in their historic context, taking fully into account the peculiarities of their historic context.



(SOURCE: AGORA, TOULOUSE, OCTOBER - NOVEMBER 1981).

In that regard, our ideal society is inspired by the organisational form and basis of the federation of Lebou villages and the social set-up of the Ballantes (of Casanance and Guinea-Bissau). These social groupings, which were not at all primitive, were organised in such a way that the societies in question had neither ruling classes nor exploiting chiefs. Instead they enjoyed a direct democracy not imposed from higher up. That sort of organisation which, we contend, could work perfectly well even in the context of the current state of the forces of production, provided the exploiter classes are broken and the possibilities of a totalitarian leadership emerging are removed, is the model upon which we reckon. It is a model in which passiveness and blind obedience to exploitative and anti-democratic leaders will have no currency.

In pursuit of our ideal society we, the anarchists of Senegal, and our sympathisers (whom we reckon are many) will concentrate our energies against the following pernicious phenomena:

- the movement towards a society of a pronounced statist or bureaucratic nature.
- the antagonism of rich and poor.
- obscurantism, fanaticism, pedantry and empty words disconnected with the objective reality and all reductions of personal freedom.
- ethnocentrism of a hegemonic nature.
- narrow nationalism.
- the present pseudo-democracy with its unjust economic set-up.
- democracy imposed from above.

Meeting on Saturday 13th June 1981 on the island of Goree, which is to be the formal base for their movement, the anarchists of Senegal, without regard to national origins, have also set up a Study Committee on Statutes for the purpose of expanding upon their legal statutes...statutes required by the constricting laws of the Senegalese bureaucratic state.

Their political, economic and social programme and their mode of struggle will not be directed towards winning power. Out of their meeting the anarchists of Senegal have created their instrument of struggle... The "Anarchist Party for the Rights of the Individual in the Republic".

The under-named individuals, members of the Study Committee on Statutes have offered themselves temporarily for the accomplishment of tasks presently facing us.

- Thierno Seydou Barry (artist-painter).
- Mme Ndickou Mendy (unemployed).
- Amadou Loum Diop (engineer).
- Ismaila Ndao (farmer).
- Mamadou Wade (economist).
- Mam Less Dia (journalist).
- Mme. Alimatou Tall (unemployed).
- Moussa Diongue (singer-songwriter).
- Francis Gisestet (economist).
- Sedikh Ndoye (orthopedist).
- Adadou Tall, known as Lynx (monumental sculptor).
- Joseph Gomis (schoolteacher).
- Khaly Sow (workman).
- Papa Saloun Diawara (company manager).
- Sega Ndoye, known as To (barman).
- Papisco (film actor).
- Babacar Serakun Matouti Mbow (author).
- Mme. Magatte Bathily (dress designer).
- Idam Samb (quack).
- Abdoulaye Seck (unemployed).
- Mam. Cheikh Lo (vagabond).
- Lahmadou Coulibaly (retired driver).
- Asmirou Diallo (orderly).
- El-Hadji Ibrahima Sakhna (Treasury Inspector).
- Aziz Ciss (farm technician).
- Sawa Diop (beggar).
- Mor Khondia Gadiaga (hawker).

Representing the Study Committee on Statutes...Mam Less Dia...temporary coordination in chief, subject to recall at any time.

Mamadou Wade...temporary interim coordination, subject to recall at any time.

U.S.S.R. WHAT IS S.M.O.T.?

Russian dissident Vladimir Borissov is the West European representative of the USSR's trade union, SMOT. Here are excerpts from a conversation with him.

Q. What led to the emergence of the free trade unions in the soviet union?

A..The first people who tried to stand up for their rights against officialdom did so as individuals: off they went to complain to newspaper editors, to the soviets, to local C.P. committees. Official psychiatrists charged that they were "obsessed with seeking for the truth" and they were quickly ushered into psychiatric prisons. In one or other of those they finally met one another and realised that theirs was not an isolated case and was nothing unique and that in fact was commonplace. Exchanging details and explaining their experiences, they were able to arrive at a realistic overall picture of the situation. This led in 1976 to the deposition of the first collective protest (for which soviet legislation has no provision) and then to the establishment of a "Free trade union" one of whose leading lights was the miner Klebanov. Against this first free trade union the authorities were to use the old carrot and the stick routine: that is whilst some had their demands granted others fell victim to severe repression. Many people then realised the need to broaden their solidarity. Vladimir Skvirsky, shortly afterwards successfully set up his "Independent Union" comprising veterans of Klebanov's union plus newcomers. But this union was short-lived. Like Klebanov Skvirsky was promptly arrested. Contact was lost, to some extent. Thereafter the remnants of these first two unions, along with new groups of people set up SMOT.

Q. How is SMOT organised and what is its goal?

A. SMOT's structure is semi-open. It welcomes groups (not individuals). A delegate from each group joins the union's council of representatives. Generally only these representatives, being known to the authorities, have been hit by the repression. Thus the arrests have not been able to smash SMOT entirely. SMOT's aim is to defend the workers to struggle against injustice and to encourage mutual aid and solidarity.. and to raise issues of general concern to the working class.

SMOT's small size - one member for every million soviet citizens - means that it cannot engage in large scale activities such as engaging in strikes.

Q. How are things for the ordinary people in the Soviet Union?

A.The escalating popular discontent we see today can be explained in terms of the exploitation of soviet workers and falling living standards. In response, the authorities have created a special police corps, the "Motorised Units" which are separate from the police and army and are equipped with armoured vehicles and automatic weapons and whose function it is to repress any possible uprising. The situation is deteriorating daily: there is runaway inflation and wages are stagnating.

Q. What did you imagine Western trade unions to be like? What do you think of them now you have seen them?

A. Before I experienced them, I thought that Western unions had managed to cling to the principles of solidarity and internal democracy. Then I saw that union leaders wasted a lot of time on political squabbling and had very little contact with workers problems. In practice the union member has fewer rights in his union than he does as a citizen in his country. Even if members are dissatisfied with the union leadership they have no way of changing it. In England there are even union leaders elected for life; a veritable monarchy. Militants at grass roots level are more active even than the bureaucrat whose wage they are paying. Luckily not all militants wind up as bureaucrats. But with trade unionism as it stands today I am a little depressed.

Q. What is the significance of current events in Poland?

A. The poles have made enormous gains, more than ever has been achieved by any opposition movement in

the Eastern bloc. But they have only won the first round. Today, for reasons of internal politics, it is very hard for the Russian government to send in its troops; to do so would be to risk an eruption inside Russia itself. The present aim of the Polish government is to create confusion among the workers by "buying off" certain personages, infiltrating the movement and bringing all possible pressure to bear. If Solidarity continues to gain strength and can avoid splits in its ranks, then it will act in Poland as an effective counter-balance to the authorities. Then the government will be

obliged to yield to the worker's demands...or to react to this situation which unacceptable to it and the Russian government. The outcome is unpredictable.

To conclude I should like to remind you that in 1968 when Russian troops invaded Czechoslovakia, some soviet citizens demonstrated in Moscow with a banner reading "For our liberty and yours". Without knowing it they had stumbled across an old slogan of the Poles.



POLAND

From page 1

Since the resultant Polish economy is based on a double fallacy - the possibility of State Communism and the possibility of International Capitalism, or an amalgam thereof, being able to run an acceptable society - it has failed. The workers have risen, formed independent unions and (also, alas) fallen for a third fallacy: that as the Roman Catholic Church is the only independent force in the country apart from the Communist Party and associations thereof, it is a force for independence from the Soviet Union.

The "moderates", which possibly includes Lech Walesa who rose on the demands on the workers, want to compromise with State Communism; even the "extremists" only want its modification since they look to the Church to help them gain independence and concessions. It is the "ultra-extremists", few in number, who look to a struggle against the State. The Church, though not in Poland a servant of the State, preaches subservience to it (as did the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland even when persecuted).

Now that the world banks, representing International Capitalism are putting the screws on the Government to pay up their debts, the Army is being called on to deal with the workers. It is an academic question whether the Red Army will be adequate to crush the Polish people (usually, but not always, the local army is; if it fails in this elementary task, foreign intervention automatically comes) as Franco proved). The USA only fears the USSR and gain strategic military bases out of it - hence the war talk.

Though the Capitalist world has every sympathy with independent Poland and the churches offer up prayers for the "brave Poles", the facts remain that it is world capitalism that wants the crushing of workers' Poland. But is this an anomaly? Is this unexpected? That is what they would do with us in like circumstances. And if the Army we have now to support wouldn't crush us, the US Army would be expected to do it: And if they couldn't, the Red Army.

That is what Statism is all about. That is why the alternative "the danger of Anarchy" is regarded with the utmost horror by the capitalist world.

from Industrial Worker

Suicide has now become Europe's third-most common cause of death, exceeded only by heart attacks and car accidents. Belgium reported one of the largest increases: 30% in 1977-79.

Pope John Paul II reaffirmed the idea that women's place is in the home, devoting themselves "exclusively to their families". He was willing that they be paid for this, lest having to work outside the home hinder the "primary goals of the mission of the mother".

More people were executed in Iran in the four months in July, August, September, and October 1981 than in the entire world during 1980. Amnesty International reported that more than 1800 people had been executed in Iran since June 20th, compared to 1,229 executions world-wide last year - including 709 in Iran. More than 3,350 people have been executed in Iran since the Islamic revolution in February 1979, and more than 1610 since the June overthrow of President Bani-Sadr.

Rioting spread to eight West German cities in protest of the death of a teenager during the West Berlin Government's use of nearly 2,000 riot police to clear eight buildings of squatters. The city's Christian Democratic Government was elected in May on a pledge to evict squatters from the estimated 800 city-owned empty houses in West Berlin. A first attempt to get tough in June sparked the worst violence to date, with 76 policemen injured and 55 arrests.

U.S.A.

'PERSONS UNKNOWN'?

continued

From page 1

Police say the men who escaped later switched to a white Oldsmobile and a maroon Ford, and left the area at high speed, but that onlookers noted the licence plate numbers.

After a high speed chase through Nyack, the driver of the Honda lost control and crashed into a concrete wall. He gave his name as David Gilbert (37), a WUO member wanted in Colorado for arson and assault on a cop. The passengers of the van were Judith Clark (31) — another WUO member — (who gave her own name), and "Solomon Bouines", later identified as Samuel Brown (41). Clark was not wanted by the police before being arrested, but had a conviction for her participation in the "Days of Rage" demonstrations overturned in 1970 on the ground that the evidence against her had been gathered by illegal surveillance. She was not underground, and lived openly in Manhattan. Brown was said to be a 'career criminal' with a record stretching back to 1958.

Queens Shoot-out: On 23 October, a detective, Daniel Kelly, spotted a grey Chrysler in Queens, New York, with the same number plate as the maroon Ford used after the Nyack shootings. He and two other cops gave chase, cornering the occupants of the car in an industrial area. In the gunfight that followed, one of the men in the car, Samuel Smith (37), was shot dead by the police, and the other, Nathaniel Burns (35) captured. Smith was an ex-Black Panther and member of the 'Republic of New Africa' (RNA). Burns was one of the 'Panther 21' accused of participation in a bombing conspiracy in 1969, and wanted by the FBI since 1968. The FBI now claim that Burns fled to Algeria in 1969 and later joined SWAPO as a guerrilla, where he was trained by Cuban and Soviet advisers. They also claim he is now a member of the BLA and suspected of involvement in the 1979 gaol-break of BLA prisoner Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard).



Lawyer Leonard Boudin, rear, and wife Jean leave the Rockland County Jail after meeting with their daughter. — AP

Burns is now held on 12 charges of attempted murder. Boudin, Gilbert, Clark, and Brown are all facing murder charges; even though witnesses maintain that only black men did the shootings in both incidents, and that the occupants of the Honda van had no part in the shooting of the cops at the roadblock.

Raids and Arrests: Following the Nyack robbery and shootings, six flats in the New York area were raided by police and FBI. Eve Rosahn (30), an anti-apartheid activist, was arrested first. She was the owner of the Honda van driven by Gilbert, and is also supposed to have rented the Chevrolet van used in the robbery. The FBI say she is a member of the 'May 19th Coalition'; a group which the press asserted was a fusion of the WUO and BLA, but is in fact a legal black liberation organisation. She has been charged with being an accessory to the Nyack robbery and killings.

The white Oldsmobile used by the people who shot the cops was found abandoned in Pelham, NY. It was traced to a flat in East Orange, NJ, rented by a "Nina Lewis". In the flat the FBI found guns, ammunition, 'bomb-making equipment', radios, and plans of New York police stations, biographies and photos of top New York and New Jersey cops, with details of their daily schedules and movements. This fact has been stressed by the press, in view of the BLA's practice of attacking police targets. Also in the flat, was the address of a second flat rented by "Lewis" where more guns, ammunition, radios, and a Viet-Cong flag were discovered. The FBI reckon "Lewis" is Marilyn Jean Buck (34), "quartermaster" for the BLA, and their "only white member". She is now sought as the driver of the white Oldsmobile, as well as being a suspect in the Shakur gaol-break.

On 30 October, FBI agents raided the Bronx flat of "John" and "Sarah Maynard" and arrested them. The "Maynards" were Jeffrey Jones (34) and Eleanor Raskin (35) two WUO members wanted since 1979 in connection with the discovery of a Weather Underground 'bomb-factory'. They are now held on a 1979 charge of possession of explosives, and are not being linked to the Nyack robbery or shootings. The FBI claim Jones and Raskin are also members of the May 19th Coalition.

On 2 November two helicopters, four armoured personnel carriers, four police SWAT teams, fifty FBI agents, and local and state police units surrounded a quiet farmhouse at Gallman, 30 miles from Jackson, Mississippi. It was not a Russian invasion. They had just come to arrest two black people: Falani Suni Ali (Cynthia Boston), and William Johnson (33).

The New Orleans flat where Boston (33) — "Minister of Information" for the RNA — and Johnson lived had been under police surveillance on 23 October because of their friendship with Anthony Laborde (31). Laborde was suspected of BLA membership, participation in the '79 Shakur gaol-break, and wanted for a shooting incident in New York in April in which two cops were shot, one of whom died. Laborde did not appear, but Boston and Johnson were joined by Lumumba Shakur, an ex-Panther who was acquitted in a bombing conspiracy trial in 1971. No charges were outstanding against him, but the police were interested in the fact that he was the ex-husband of Assata Shakur. Several hours later Boston and



David Gilbert is led from court Friday after being arraigned with three others for Tuesday's Brink's robbery and shootout with police. — UPI

Johnson left for Mississippi, still under police surveillance. Despite the farmhouse being under surveillance however, Johnson somehow managed to leave unnoticed before morning (much to the embarrassment of the FBI, who had to be content with Boston).

The FBI now maintain that Johnson was linked to an apartment in Mr. Vernon, NY, (which they raided after the Nyack robbery) in which they found blood-stained clothing, and which they say was cleared out hours before by a group of five people using three cars (one of which was a brown van similar to one owned by Johnson). This group is supposed to have included Johnson, Buck, Laborde, and Donald Weems (35) — another ex-Panther, and escaped prisoner — all of whom alleged to belong to the BLA, and are wanted for the Nyack robbery. The FBI claims the Mississippi farmhouse where Boston was arrested was used by the RNA to give paramilitary training to black youngsters.

Whose Conspiracy?: Using the standard conspiracy-kit common to all political police, the FBI are now trying to construct a new 'web of terror' spectacle from the arrests of black and white militants belonging to groups which have not been seen to co-operate in the past. As in the 'Persons Unknown' case here, the attempt is based on a series of armed robberies, going back to early 1980. The evidence is scanty, and largely circumstantial. No one was actually arrested during the Nyack robbery itself. Only Boudin (who, according to witness statements, did not take part in the shooting) was arrested near the scene of the subsequent shooting in which the police were killed. All the others in custody were arrested in later incidents, which bare all the hallmarks of being carefully stage-managed by the FBI. The well known attorney William Kunstler (counsel for Nathaniel Burns) maintains that the idea of a "conspiracy" is being used as a political tool to justify encroachments on civil liberties, and that the Nyack robbery is being used by the FBI to 'clear the books' by framing long-wanted revolutionaries. Kunstler claims that Burns has been beaten, burned with cigars, choked with chains, half-drowned in a toilet, and subjected to a few games of 'Russian Roulette' by the police whilst in custody.

Every imaginable group has been mentioned as part of this 'conspiracy': the WUO, BLA, May 19th Coalition, RNA, FALN, and SWAPO.

"We are looking for possible links between all these groups and possibly some foreign organisations."

(FBI Deputy Assistant Director in charge of the case, Kenneth Walton) Nathaniel Burns is a key figure in this grand conspiracy, as the 'international connection', having allegedly served with SWAPO in Africa.

David Gilbert's finger prints are said to have been found on a rental agreement for a van used in the robbery of another Brink's armoured-car in the Bronx in June 1980. Katherine Boudin is accused of two robberies in 1980; one at Inwood N.Y. and one in the Bronx, in which members of the BLA and RNA are also suspects.

Nine other people have been named as wanted during these investigations, not all directly linked to the robberies. They are Marilyn Buck, Anthony Laborde, Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur), William Johnson, Donald Weems, and Naomi Odinga (all said to be members of the BLA); and Silas Bissell (Weather Underground), Katherine Power (ex-SDS), and William Morales (FALN, and escaped from prison).

We strongly urge all comrades and readers to make whatever protests they can to their local representatives of the US government. Letters of protest can be sent to the American Ambassador, US Embassy, West Side, Grosvenor Square, London W1.

WHO'S WHO OF GROUPS

Weather Underground Organisation* (WUO):

Formed in Chicago in June 1969 by members of the militant student organisation SDS. Ideologically Marxist-Leninist. Heavily influenced by the activities of Che Guerera in Bolivia, the Tupamaros in Uruguay, the Black Panther Party, and the anti-Vietnam war movement. In 1969 they wanted to create a 'revolutionary youth movement' to organise white working class youth to fight on the side of black and Third World people, seeing the white American working class as having little revolutionary potential. Originally, they existed as an aboveground organisation, whose members lived in collectives around America, and published a newspaper ('FIRE') from a national office in Chicago. They took part in violent anti-Vietnam war demos, destroying property and fighting the police in the style now practised by the Autonomists in Europe. The police repression of militant groups, and in particular the Black Panther "Chicago 21" conspiracy trial and the murder of Panther Fred Hampton by Chicago police in 1969, convinced them that an underground guerrilla organisation had to be started as a matter of urgency. Clandestine Weather groups were established early in 1970, and a campaign bombing attacks against property (similar to that of the Angry Brigade here) was launched, lasting off and on until the late '70's. The organisation split in 1976 over the question of continuing support of the armed struggle strategy. The last known WUO action was in February 1977, when they bombed the Immigration & Naturalisation Service Office in San Francisco in solidarity with immigrant Mexican workers in the US.

(*Originally called the WEATHERMEN, from the line in Dylan's anti-war song 'Subterranean Homesick Blues': "You don't need a Weatherman to know which way the wind blows." The name was altered because it was sexist.)

Black Liberation Army (BLA): Existed since the early '70s, having its roots in the Black Panther Party. Ideologically mixed like the resistance movement in West Germany, its dominating politics are Marxist-Leninist. It considers itself an armed force for the National Liberation of African people in America. It also comprises Revolutionary Muslims and Anarchists - though for the most part it is "revolutionary nationalists and internationalist", as one protagonist of the BLA put it to us.

Republic of New Africa (RNA): Founded in Detroit in 1968, seeking the creating of an independent black nation within America. The FBI claim the RNA is linked to the BLA, and gives military training to black youth.

May 19th Coalition: A group new to us. The name derives from the common birthdays of Malcolm X and Ho-Chi Minh. Formed two years ago as a legal group agitating for black liberation (though the FBI reckon its membership is all white). **FALN:** Puerto-Rican nationalist group which has carried out bomb attacks in America.



BLACK CHILDREN'S DEATHS

One of every 17 non-white men in the US and one of every 32 non-white women between 16 and 19 are the victims of a serious crime each year. For every white male teenager murdered in America, five young non-whites are killed. Almost 50 of every 100,000 non-white youngsters under the age of 19 are murdered — and almost seven of every 100,000 non-white children under the age of four are murdered, according to a 1975 report by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Since then, police officials say, the figures have only gotten worse.

More young blacks are the victims of homicide than of heart disease, cancer, and the other major diseases combined. More black youths were killed last year in the US than all the blacks killed in the Vietnam War. The figures are necessarily incomplete. There are at least 50,000 missing or runaway children in the US, more of them black and poor than white and affluent. How many of those missing are dead is unknown.



Errol Madden, arrested during the early hours of the morning on 9 October 1980, confessed at around 5 a.m. to stealing two toy cars, after intermittent interrogation for over three hours. He had purchased the cars and had the receipt in his pocket when arrested. Faced with this evidence, the police dropped the charge on 25 February 1981.

SECRET POLICE A FILES!

One hundred years ago our fellow-Anarchist paper "Freiheit" – edited in London by John Most, in German – was prosecuted. That is hardly news. But try getting the records out of the Metropolitan Police. The other year a scholar, Bernard Porter, wrote on the case in the Historical Journal. He spent four years just trying to get an answer out of the Met. Police.

It is possible to get a very limited access to the files of the case. But most of the information, like most of the dossiers on Most and others of the period, is still hidden. Why? It is not comparable with, say, the Jack the Ripper case, where files are kept secret to cover up the reputations of the "highest in the land" lest it be revealed how the Royal Family acted as terrorists in their own interests.

The answer is that the governments of Germany and Russia interfered in this, as in other cases, and the police acted as pawns of Imperial Germany and Imperial Russia. This fact, so long known in Anarchist circles is still being kept secret by Scotland Yard.

Yet the police archives of Imperial Germany and Imperial Russia have long since been laid bare. To find the traditional lick-spittle role of the police faced with foreign intervention one has only to refer to the other files.

It is no different today, when (as seen in a case not so very long ago) the Spanish Fascist police, with French assistance, could come and raid houses in London with Scotland Yard connivance. Or before, when the Nazi police co-operated with British police against political right up to the outbreak of World War II, and even beyond.

The British police – whose secret political section is not the worst in the world, but the most secret – will never reveal their secrets even of a hundred years ago – at least, not never, but not until they have gone the way of the police of Imperial Russia or Imperial Germany!

Black Flag Page 10

WHEN WILL THEY EVER LEARN DEPT.

What our great and wonderful press have to say about anarchism (start of a series). Contributions are invited from our readers. "The Labour Party, of course, has Tony Benn and the Tories have the highly fashionable Radical Right. Gentlemen's outfitters, I notice, are now full of RR suits. These are voguish square-cut, pin-striped numbers, with red tie and red socks, to indicate that one is still an anarchist at heart, although this time one is coming from the right."

Sunday Times 15.11.81

This comment would make it seem that "anarchist" is regarded as any political dissident of the left. Yet other comments make it synonymous with "criminal" or even "wanton murderer". Do not suppose that is accidental. The only accident is when they use the word correctly.

'THE BATTLE OF STEPNEY' REVIEW

There is yet another book on the Sidney Street affair: "The Battle of Stepney" by Colin Rogers. We have so far seen a review in the London Standard – by the well known bleeding heart liberal James Cameron. Mr Cameron finds things that cannot possibly be in the book – the East End "was in those days populated largely by immigrants" (in itself a far-fetched statement) "they were very largely East Europeans – Russians, Letts, a few Poles; they were identifiable not by colour but by language and the exclusivity of a wholly alien culture. In 1911 this was mainly – a word largely forgotten today – Anarchist. At that time Anarchists were roughly defined as bearded Slavs with bombs, and that indeed is what they often were."

Cameron, in those few words qualifies as the King Hamilton Prize as Idiot of the Year. He might look into the Encyclopaedia Britannica of precisely 1911 to get a clear picture of how to define Anarchism. There was resistance in "Slavonic" Russia to the Tsar, it is true, and bombs were used; but the resistance fighters did not necessarily wear beards – if only because of the fact that a large proportion of them were women.

The idea that the East End and not just a part of it, was entirely inhabited by Russian immigrants could only come from someone devoid of knowledge of working class London. In fact, there were some Russians, a few Letts and almost no Poles other than Jews (who were regarded then in Eastern Europe as a separate nationality). They all had their national cultures: it is nice to think (but totally absurd, alas) that they all had one universal culture, the noble one of Anarchism. True, the sweated conditions of the East End did produce a strong Anarchist movement, both among the Jews in the tailoring trade and the English in the costering, docks and other trades.

How does a man think himself fit to review books when his elementary knowledge is so pathetic as this? And this is not a thrusting new hack cheerfully thrusting himself into something he knows nothing about: it is an ageing, experienced Fleet Street journalist... on whom the average punter has to rely, God help them, for facts.

ISYAN

There is a new anarchist paper published in WETZLAR (Germany), where in addition to the German-language libertarian press, there is a large well produced Spanish-language paper (EL IMPULSO) for emigrant workers. The new one is ISYAN (Rebellion) in the Turkish language.



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PRISONERS OF RELIGION

Surprisingly, nothing in the anarchist bookshop at Brixton gives so much offence to local residents as the poster (quoting Bakunin) calling for the release of the PRISONERS OF RELIGION. The Rastas, prisoners of Statism and Racism, are the most vociferous in objecting

Yet from the earliest beginnings of society those who have been able to draw mystic interpretations of natural events have always managed to keep others down. The earliest societies, Statism at its crudest, are composed of military men who imposed their will by force who, when they took prisoners instead of putting them to death, created the slave society and so ultimately the State; and the (male or female) visionaries, especially astrologers, who influenced the military rulers – or helped control the ruled – by interpreting (or sometimes by inventing) what other people could not understand.

In the past century religion was kicked around so that one thought it would never recover its ability for evil. To maintain any power at all, thoroughly limited and by many rulers so totally despised that they have booted out the clerics (and in its way this goes as much for England as for Russia, the one having substituted the press and the other the Party), religion has trimmed its sails and revamped its claims to fit in whenever it has encountered adversity. But now it is coming back with a liberal vengeance, basing its claims on the most simplistic of its interpretations and yielding nothing to the spirit of the age.

Fundamentalism in religion is becoming the new fascism, the creed which is able to substitute for class struggle, and thus using to smash aspirations for social change.

NO BLOODY OATH!

David Mansfield, a Cambridge-shire pig farmer, refused to take the jurors' oath at Cambridge Crown Court:

"He told Judge John Binns that he could not swear on the Bible or make an affirmation that he would 'faithfully try the several issues joined between our Sovereign Lady the Queen and the defendant...'"

"It's against all I stand for," he said.

The jury was being sworn in at the start of a trial yesterday morning. When the clerk called Mr Mansfield's name he said he could not swear a religious oath because he had no religious beliefs.

The judge said Mr. Mansfield could use the words: "I do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm..." if he felt unable to swear.

Mr Mansfield replied: "It is very difficult. It's against all I stand for."

The judge pointed out that the Queen's name only appeared in the form of words because all the prosecutions were brought in her name.

So far in this country fundamentalism has not got off the starting lines. Instead, a still more viscous creed has been used – racialism, always certain to divide, always assured initial success among the ignorant, and capable of casting a benign glow by contrast on regionalism which is able to take, at least sometimes, its stance on the side of enlightenment.

Fundamentalist religion is seen in its most reactionary role in two contrasting societies: the USA and Iran. In the USA fundamentalist religion allies itself with the most diverse reactionary elements to declare that God is with America and anyone who disagrees is damned and should be dead. It glorifies Statism at its most basic by the worship of the flag and enlists a narrow view of morals, defence of property, Biblical credulity, a fear of sexual freedom and of racial understanding into a defence of brute capitalism and the Warfare State. The Ayatollah Khomeini, using the same arguments from a Moslem point of view has justified a different economic system, the military – socialism that now passes off as Islamic socialism which is too crude to accept capitalism (because it conflicts with Koranic texts) but is unable to do more than try to modify its effects and, in thus muddling between two systems, seeks dictatorial measures to solve the contradictions.

It is coincidental that what links the fundamentalists of Christian America and those of Muslim Iran is not just their belief in God but their exploitation of oil. In both cases the message they get from God is clear and unequivocal: hold on to your privileged position even if you bring the world crashing down on you. The one above can always build a new world. But it seems he can't restore the destruction of socially exploitative systems once people overthrow them.

At this point Mr Reid got to his feet and asked Mr Mansfield should "stand by for the Crown" – the legal phrase used when the police object to a juror.

Outside the court, David Mansfield explained that he was an anarchist.

He said the judge had made his position clear and he could not square with his beliefs the idea of trying another man to assess his guilt.

David Mansfield said he was amazed that it appeared that a person could be taken in from the street and made by law to say something in which he did not believe." From "Cambridge Evening News"





Stephan Wiesniewski (28) was sentenced to life imprisonment in Dusseldorf on 4 December, after being found guilty of complicity in the kidnapping and 'murder' of industrialist Hans-Martin Schleyer in 1977, and membership of a 'Criminal organisation' (the RAF).

Stephan was hustled out of the courtroom as the verdict was announced after telling the judge: "The judgement of the ruling class doesn't interest us." About 30 sympathisers shouted protests in the courtroom.

Stephan was found guilty on five counts, but although the judge ruled that he had played a definite role in the kidnapping (in which Schleyer's three bodyguards were killed), he said it could not be ascertained for sure that Wiesniewski himself fired the shots or drove the Volkswagen van used in the abduction.

The Siegfried Hausner Commando of the RAF claimed responsibility for the kidnapping, and demanded the release of 11 political prisoners in exchange for Schleyer.

The action was supported by the hi-jacking of a Lufthansa jet by the PFLP. When the jet was stormed by state terrorists of the West German GSG9 squad at Mogadishu airport, and RAF members Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe murdered in their cells in Stammheim prison. Schleyer was executed by the RAF and his body dumped in a car in the French border town of Mulhouse.

"After 43 days we have put an end to the miserable and corrupt existence of Hans-Martin Schleyer. His death does not measure up to our grief and anger after the slaughter at Mogadishu and Stammheim... The battle has just begun." RAF, Siegfried Hausner Commando - 19 October, 1977

Stephan Wiesniewski was arrested on 11th May 1978 at Orly airport in Paris, boarding a flight to Zagreb, and extradited to West Germany. His arrest led to the detention of Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Rolf Wagner, Sieglinda Hoffman, and Peter Boock in Yugoslavia on 29th May 1978.

Stephan took part in the recent mass hunger strike of political prisoners in West Germany, during which he was strapped to his bed and forced by four screws. He is the 18th member of the RAF to be given a life sentence in recent years.

CRIMINAL TORY

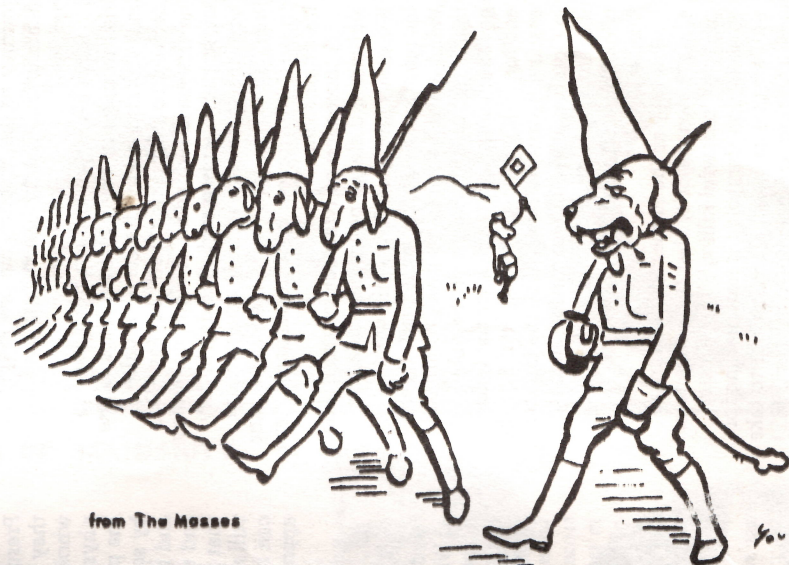
Paul Vickers was a surgeon. He was also a moralist. So much so that he got on to the ruling body of the medical profession to dictate the ethics to others. More than that, he was a devoted Conservative - determined to become a Euro-M.P. and serve the interests of Toryism. That is how he became a killer.

His wife, Margaret, was an obstacle to all his plans so he set out to kill her. He could not just leave her, in a civilised way, and join his love Pamela Collison in an open honest fashion, because of his moralistic views - but if he did not, his Party would suffer, for a would-be Euro-M.P. needed to be respectable and properly married.

His wife crippled from birth, painfully shy, almost friendless - but at one time presumably desirable, or perhaps monied - had to be killed, and killed she was in a particularly nasty way by a particularly nasty person with particularly nasty political views.

If you by any chance read this story in the daily press this political assassination, was presented in an entirely different way. But one thing you will have noted. There were no raids by police on Conservatives. Indeed, the names of leading Conservatives concerned in various ways with Miss Collison (eg. Michael Heseltine Tory Cabinet Minister) have been discreetly hidden.

Assuming the total incredibility of Paul Vickers having been a libertarian, can you imagine the remarks that the prostitute press and judiciary of the King-Hamilton type would have engaged in?



from The Masses

YOUNG MEN: The lowest aim in your life is to become a soldier. The good soldier never tries to distinguish right from wrong. He never thinks; never reasons; he only obeys. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street when the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red and the life tide gushing from the breasts of women, feeling neither remorse nor sympathy. If he is ordered off as a firing squad to execute a hero or benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast.

A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man. He is not a brute, for brutes only kill in self defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that constitutes the man has been sworn away when he took the enlistment roll. His mind, his conscience, aye, his very soul, are in the keeping of his officer.

No man can fall lower than a soldier - it is a depth beneath which we cannot go. Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell.

Down with the army and the navy. We don't need killing institutions...

-Jack London

Contacts

Autonomy Centre, 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1.

Social Club/discussions, music regularly. A Distribution mail-out (every second Thursday) Telephone 01-481 3537 for coming events.

121 Anarchist Centre, 121 Railton Road, Brixton SE24 (Tube:Brixton) Bookshop opened: Monday to Friday 2pm-6pm & Sats: 12noon - 6pm. Dinners: Friday night 6-8pm & Sunday Dinners & Discussion and/or video 1p.m.

Some publications in stock: Anarchism - Arguments for and against @ .75p

South London Stress - Magazine from Dissident NALGO workers @ .20p Critique of State Socialism @ .75p High Intensity Subversion @ £1 Without a Trace @ £2.50 Anarchist Songbook @ .80p A Woman Without A Country @ .40p Anarcho-Quiz Book @ .85p Cienfuegos Press Review - Current and past issues

Range of records/Badges/Posters New Collective members always welcome to work in bookshop and/or cafe.

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ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. Mrs Thatcher's speech writer Mr. Alfred Sherman, who also writes leaders for the Daily Telegraph, was for years a Communist Party member (though presumably is no longer).

2. Ras Tafari, later Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie (Holy of Holies) claimed descent from King Solomon



and always styled himself "conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah". He never supported pan-African or pro-Negro causes.

3. When General Mola's troops were advancing on Madrid in 1936 and he had the city encircled, he said he would be drinking his usual cafe-cognac in his favourite Madrid bar by the weekend. The CNT waiters set it out for him and left it there mockingly for nearly three years, "Reserved for General Mola".

4. As so many Ukrainians are involved - it is said the number of war criminals among them amount to 500, including the most famous restaurateur in Toronto - the Canadian government is afraid of upsetting the Ukrainian vote (the most numerous ethnic minority bar the French-Canadians, if they can be considered such).

5. Ford proposed using alcohol and diverting it from the "social iniquity" of causing drunkenness among the working class.

6. In his essay on the military organisation of a great kingdom, Machiavelli harps on his favourite theme: to get rid of the citizens' militia that defended the free cities, and to form a national army such as always defends tyrants most effectively.